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HOW BRITISH LABOR RECEIVES
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A CONSIDERATION OF PREMIER
MEIGHEN AND HIS CABINET

OFFICIAL ORGAN,
FIFTH SUNDAY
MEETING ASSOCIATION
OF CANADA

MONTREAL, JULY 24th, 1920

Vol. 2, No. 30

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Our London Letter

(From our Own Correspondent)

London, July 2.

Last week politics, next week industrialism, at the moment international affairs. This is how British Labor's programme runs.

We have just received home the second batch of Labor investigators who have been to see for themselves what is happening in Russia.

The most detailed statement made up to the time of writing this letter is that of Mrs. Philip Snowden, one of our leading Socialists and a woman of considerable intelligence. Her report will come as some what of a shock to the Lenine-worshippers over here, who have been rather quickly apt to look on Russia as the new Land of Freedom. Mrs. Snowden says quite bluntly that it is nothing of the kind.

"I am a Socialist, a democrat and a Christian", says Mrs. Snowden. "I oppose Bolshevism because it is not Socialism, it is not democratic, it is not Christianity. The Bolsheviks have suppressed God as a counter-revolutionary and have raised up Karl Marx in His place."

The Extraordinary Commission has, according to her report, seized

so much power that she can scarcely say whether it or the Government rules Russia. It is the story of the French Revolution over again and Mrs. Snowden is inclined to think the rulers go in fear of what may happen to them at its hands.

Like the rest of the returned delegates Mrs. Snowden is convinced that the Russo-Polish war ought to be stopped and that Britain should trade with Russia as soon as possible. Some of the other delegates have warm praise for the way in which the Russian people are struggling to find a way out of their difficulties. Robert Williams (Transport Workers) whom the Bolsheviks insisted on presenting with a Military Medal, says "What I have seen surpasses any hopeful expectations. The greatest experiment ever made in progressive development of human institutions has taken place under most adverse circumstances." R. C. Wallhead (Independent Labor Party) says: "People in the towns are suffering bitterly from food shortage, but the difficulties are slowly being overcome. The poor peasant are infinitely bet-

ter off than ever they have been before."

There are still more delegates to come. We shall probably have a second interim report — one was submitted by Tom Shaw and Ben Turner — and when the whole are here there will be a combined report of immense interest and value.

More than once I have hinted at the Labor General Staff which is to come. Now we have the recommendations of the committee which has been working on the scheme for so long.

It provides for a Council of 30, representing 17 trade groups. There are to be full-time officials who shall specialize on the work of the groups and collect data. Nothing is said yet as to whether there is to be a paid head or Field Marshal.

The work of the General Council, as the Thirty are to be called, will be to attempt to co-ordinate industrial action and to promote common action by the trade union movement on general questions. These shall include, not only wages and hours, but any matter of general concern that may arise between the trade union movement and the government.

The Council is, it is proposed, to have power to assist any union which is attacked on any vital question of trade union and principle. It is expected that the affiliation fees of the unions to Congress will have to be increased if this is all carried out. As they have just been called upon to increase their contributions to the Labor Party, — here I use the word in the political sense — not a few are proposing a little criticism when the scheme comes before Congress in September.

The Government disclosed its beautiful new scheme for running the mines and avoiding nationalization at the same time, one bright afternoon this week. Sir Robert Horne, who introduced it, used to be at the Ministry of Labor, but his tenure of that office has certainly not taught him the last word in grappling with an industrial puzzle. He suggested that the mines should be ruled according to areas by area boards in which should sit representatives of the government, the owners and the men and that the wages should be such as could be paid in each area by the collieries in the area.

The bill has pleased nobody. The owners called it "hopeless" because it was in their view a step towards nationalization and the miners' leaders doomed it to death because it was intended only to prevent nationalization. The great fault in a very poor Bill is that if once you begin fixing wages of miners according to areas the coalfields which pay handsomely will give their men about the same as they are doing now — which the men contend is still too low — and those that are run at a loss, as several are — well, goodness knows what they could be expected to do. Then if the Miners' Federation tried to do anything for one section it would be

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in difficulties with it and the Federation would go smash. Which is, Bob Smillie says, exactly what the Government would like to see.

Anyhow, Labor is not going to have a bill of that sort and Sir Robert must try again. The joke is that if he had only thought of pooling the profits, so that all the men could be paid on a national basis, he might have had a chance with the miners. But then the coal magnates would have raised the brother of Abel. Labor says that it will have to be nationalization. Half-way houses will not do one little bit.

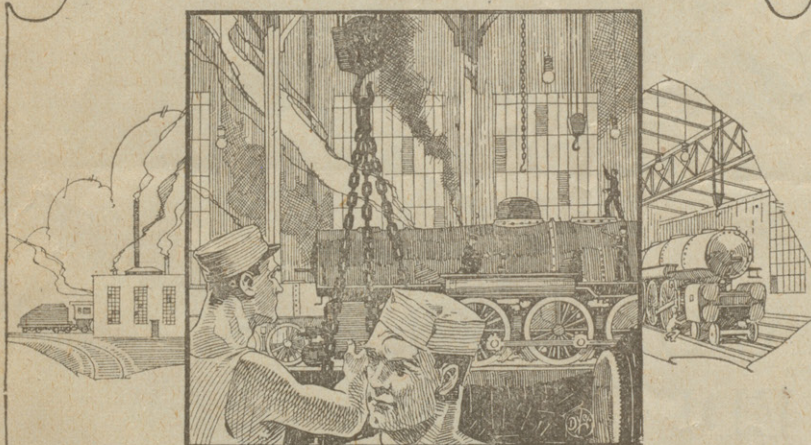
This brings me to mention of the fact that the miners are holding their own Parliament next week at Leamington, in Warwickshire. It is getting to be a very important affair now, for the delegates represent close on a million members. One of the most important subjects for discussion is 14-6 per ton whilst, as I have before indicated in these columns, the Government clapped on our household coals. My information is that the miners' conference is going to tell Westminster that this 14-6 is to come off or there will be trouble. At the same time I hear they are proposing to ask for a wages' demand, but not a heavy one this time, probably about 1-6 a shift for men and 9 for boys.

On the same days, the National Union of Railwaymen holds its annual delegate meeting at Belfast. This union now reports nearly 500,000 members and has balances of over a million pounds sterling. There will be a rare opportunity for studying the Irish problem from the Ulster End. The N. U. R. is working hard to discover the solution and delegates may return with fresh and valuable suggestions.

A special Trade Union Congress tackles this ever present troubles on July 13.

Ethelbert Pogson.

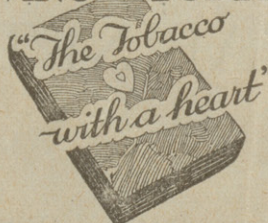
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Tariff Plank Left Out

By GEORGE PIERCE.

IN the United States the national elections are in full swing. The political forces of both the great parties are gathered together for the purpose of garnering the votes for their respective candidates. Headquarters are being established in all important centres and workers by the thousands are scurrying about arranging the details of the political festival. Both parties have arranged their planks with an eye to capturing the progressive vote, while the third party has recently organized to cement the radical or extremely progressive groups. Other issues of the sociological character are included in the programmes of these parties, but the fiscal or tariff issue is notable for its absence. After sixty years of campaigning based upon the tariff issue, the Americans have at last eliminated it from politics by establishing the Tariff Board. They fixed the tariffs along scientific and economic lines, free from political interference. It took them sixty years to come to this state of affairs. The cry of the fool dinner pail or the full dinner pail on the one side and free food for all on the other, is apparently stilled for ever. Science and learning have superseded ignorance and political passion in the matter of the tariff, and it was high time that such should be the case.

The ridiculous spectacle of raising campaign funds of four or five million dollars for each of the contending parties from the same source, to stage a political tariff battle for the edification of the American voting public, had become a world-wide joke. The business people themselves had become heartily sick of this system, while most of them adopted the habit of subscribing to the funds of both parties in order to be on the right side of the fence, no matter which way the cat jumped. Yet there was a general feeling that this system could not be productive of healthy political conditions.

The question now arises, when will we in Canada begin to profit by the experience of the Americans? Are we to go on for sixty or seventy years, fighting these interminable tariff battles which never bear any fruit, or are we to get down to business on a progressive basis and institute a system of machinery that is adequate to handle tariff adjustments? The attitude of the Government in appointing a temporary Board to investigate tariff opinions would indicate that we are not yet in a frame of mind to get right down to hard pan and do the job right.

It would seem that the old pork barrel still remains dear to the hearts of political leaders for campaign purposes. Neither the general public nor the organized worker, nor the manufacturers, desire to continue the farce; only professional politicians on the one hand and politically-inclined farmers on the other still continue to advocate and sponsor the old system. Which ever Government or party demonstrates its progressiveness by advocating a permanent scientific Tariff Board versus the old pot-luck systems will receive general support from all progressive groups. The days of the old methods are numbered.

Will the new Prime Minister see the hand-writing upon the wall? If he could answer this with definite certainty it would be easy for us to predict the result of the next election

TO CONVENE AT WINDSOR

Trades Congress of Canada Meets
September 13

A call to the 36th annual convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada has been issued to all affiliated unions. The convention will be held in the armories building, Windsor, Ont., beginning 10 o'clock Monday morning, September 13, and will continue in session until the business of the convention is disposed of.

The convention call is issued on behalf of the congress executive and signed by Tom Moore, president, and P. M. Draper, secretary-treasurer. They expect that the record attendance of 934 delegates in 1919 will be surpassed at the coming convention.

There is the message to the unions: "The participation of Canada in the League of Nations has brought Canadian workers into closer touch with the world's labor movement and the international aspect of many labor problems."

"Each year brings new problems, and as the decisions affect not only the lives of the workers affiliated to the trades union movement, but the entire social fabric of the community, local unions and affiliated bodies are called upon to select men and women as delegates who have the broadest vision and coolest judgment."

LABOR GAINS IN AFRICA

Will Have 21 Members in Parliament, and Hold Balance of Power

General elections in South Africa have had somewhat surprising results. The new line-up in the South African parliament will be as follows: Nationalists, 44; South African party, 39; Unionists, 25; Labor, 21; Independents, 4. No party thus has a majority but it is necessary to know what the several parties stand for to get the significance of the election.

Following the South African war nearly all the Dutch element were in the Unionist party, representing conciliation with England and forming the government. Later a group calling themselves the Nationalist party, with anti-British attitude, split off. It offered resistance to participation in the World War and has now become the leading party. The South African party is made up of Dutch who hold to support of England, the policy South Africa has followed to the present, but on local issues is evidently close to the National party. The Unionists now appear to have lost their Dutch following and to consist chiefly of the English element of the country.

The Labor party stands for what Labor parties elsewhere do, being if anything somewhat more radical, and in the present election it has increased its members in parliament from 4 to 21.



AN M.P.'S PROTEST.

Kingston Standard.

Mr. Roch Lanctot, M.P., some little time ago gave some particulars regarding the way in which many members attended to their duties in the Dominion house. He stated that some of them only attended when obliged to, and that the interests of the country were looked after by only about ten members on each side. He declared that there were too many members.

As might be expected he has come out strongly against the increased indemnities, saying:

"I regard this thing as thoroughly immoral, and as betrayal of the public trust. We are not entitled to any more money. We get free transportation the year round, free stationery, free stenographers, and we are given three square meals a day in the parliamentary restaurant for \$1.40. Under these circumstances \$2,500 is quite adequate, and if I can get the necessary support I am going to divide the house."

It is regrettable that his protest has been in vain.

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MAD BOOTY SCRAMBLE

By ALEXANDER M. THOMPSON,
The Well-known Writer on Labor
and Social Topics in News of
the World, London.

WHEN I recently affirmed that countless rulers of men and leaders of thoughts were eagerly awaiting helpful suggestion to show a way out of our economic troubles, I did not give due regard to the tremendous circulation of this paper, nor did I foresee that all the people of Britain with ideas would quest to dump them upon me. I interpret my statement as a re-

May I say that these unsolicited, but flattering, tributes of confidence have literally overwhelmed me? But though I have studiously read them all and been in many ways instructed, yet I am still seeking a way out.

The problem is not so easy as most of my correspondents seem to think. It is quite easy to assert that "the grumblers need to learn that they have duties as well as rights," but it is not so easy to find a teacher capable of teaching them.

It is easy to say that "we would easily overcome our difficulties if we all worked to the utmost of our capabilities and consumed no more than bare essentials," but in the regrettable absence of Mr. Lenin, who is actually engaged in overcoming "his" difficulties by enforcing this method upon the Russian people, no one here seems fully qualified for the job.

Another correspondent bowls a very nasty straight one: "Why," he asks, "don't the Labor leaders tell the truth?" When I came to think of it, I really don't know. I must ask Mr. Clynes and Mr. Henderson some time. Perhaps it never occurred to them.

The defect of most of the suggestions addressed to me is that they are too beautifully perfect.

A typical example is a letter of 44 typewritten foolscap pages, with several elaborate diagrams, contending that advances of wages, based on increased cost of living, should apply only to sixty pounds of a

man's income, which should be "regarded as necessary for the maintenance of life on the lowest standard."

The writer, an M.A. of Edinburgh University, and a student of political economy under Professor Nicholson, argues that any further income up to £400—"spent chiefly on the simpler, semi-necessary comforts and decencies of civilized life"—should be increased by no more than 50 per cent.; and that earnings above £400—being "spent wholly on luxuries"—should be subject to no increase at all.

On the other hand, in reply to my claim that it is difficult to spend more than £5,000 a year without vulgarity, a lady sends me a lengthy and detailed account of an expenditure in excess of that limit, and stoutly maintains, with evident sincerity, that she indulges in no luxuries.

Yet another letter is from the widow of a sailor who died of malaria contracted on the West Coast of Africa. The man's employer, when he died, left a fortune of three-quarters of a million. My correspondent is over 50, can obtain no work, and says she is "in desperate straits."

In these documents we have a fair illustration of the problem facing our statesmanship. The Edinburgh student regards any expenditure beyond £60 in pre-war value unessential, and therefore more or less extravagant. My lady correspondent spends more than £5,000 a year and denies extravagance. The sailor's widow is struggling to live, presumably, on her husband's little savings; and one needs no imagination poignantly to realize what the actual cost of food must mean to her.

If the advance of wages had been regulated as scientifically as the Edinburgh M.A. suggests, the "straits of the sailor's widow would surely have been less 'desperate.'"

But what is the use of discussing so impossible an "if"? To try now to set back the advances which have been granted would be as futile as to seek recovery of the proverbial butter in the dog's mouth.

Preaching and Practice.

One may wish that in the eager pursuit of their own rights the chasers would show as keen and con-

stant an interest in the needs of those, like the sailor's widow, whose woefully scanty means have no chance of increase. But one may not wonder that they always bear in mind the third factor in the problem—the people who find five thousand a year not more than sufficient to provide for their reasonable requirements.

It is unquestionably true that the nation ought to be making more and taking less. Our old enemies, the Germans, and our gallant Allies, the Belgians, are both setting an example in this respect which puts us to shame. But to produce any effect the example must start from nearer home.

While Ministers recklessly fling wealth to the winds in wildest foreign adventures, in popinjay military uniforms, and in useless domestic offices—while luxurious profligacy is as insolently and provocatively flaunted as I have lately seen it in Lancashire, it is worse than useless to preach sacrifice and frugality to the drudges.

British workers, whether wise or otherwise, have determined to secure a greater portion of the national wealth than has heretofore fallen to their share. They are resolved that the huge economic and social gap between their lives and the lives of their "superiors" shall at least be narrowed. They insistently demand, above all, an influential voice in fixing the conditions of their labor.

Things To Recognize.

The timeliness of their demands may be questioned. The manner of their demands is sometime not above reproach. The cumulative effect of their ceaselessly reiterated demands has become of doubtful benefit to any, and to many positively disastrous. But the mad scramble for booty perilously proceeds, and trade union leaders, as well as other people, are anxiously asking themselves when it is to end, and how.

Should the mastery in the scramble ever be gained by the more extreme leaders of revolt it is possible that our industries may be ruined, and quite certain that our political Constitution will be scrapped.

To avert this possibility I entreat my correspondents and the employing class generally to recognize the facts.

In the eternal process of human evolution we have reached a new stage of development. The old ideas of absolute mastership and unconscionable service in industry have had their day: a new era of mutual democratic enterprise is beginning.

Intelligent observers of all sorts and conditions realize that it has to come. Robert Cecil, the representative of our ancient ruling aristocracy, told the employees of the South Suburban Gas Company the other day that "the important thing is not profit-sharing, but the sharing in management. A man is entitled to choose what he wants to do, and to a voice in the management of the industry in which he is concerned."

A still more significant sign of the time current was revealed at the last meeting of the Port of London Authority. Sir Joseph Brodribb, Chairman of the Dock and Warehouses Committee, commenting on the presence of two Labor representatives, had remarked that "the popular representative system, however suited to political matters, was as out of place in commercial undertakings as it would be in the Army and Navy."

The narose Sir Samuel Fay, general manager of the Great Central Railway, one of the alert up-to-date captains of industry. "If Labor had a voice in the management of docks and other undertakings," he said, "it would not take the view that it was there to boost up wages. Many Labor members of public bodies have done admirable work and taken a long view. I would sooner have Labor men inside a business undertaking than outside."

Plan to Try.

Another "live wire", Sir Arthur Duckham, whose minority report on the Coal Commission formed the basis of the Government's scheme for dealing with the mines, further urged last Tuesday that the Government should summon an Industrial Parliament of workers and employers, to fix geographical subsistence rates, to which should be added wages proportionated to the workers' grade and skill.

In this endeavor I also welcome Sir Arthur Duckham's support. But the parliament he asks for, as I have frequently pointed out, is already in existence. It was summoned by the Prime Minister in February, 1919, when it was called the Na-

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tional Industrial Council. Where is that Council now?

If the Council was resurrected and set to the task of establishing scientific basis of work and wages—if Labor, were allowed effectively to govern its own industries, and made more conscious of its responsibilities by increase of its dignity—we might begin to discover a way to industrial peace and increased production of wealth.

Then might come opportunity for schemes of national sacrifices like that suggested by the Edinburgh M.A. But in the present temper of the workers even to discuss such a scheme would be asking for trouble.

:o:

AN EDUCATIONAL BUREAU The Veteran (Ottawa).

No argument is required to support the statement that education is the real key to any adequate policy of national construction. It is the one great factor which levels upwards. Although the benefits accruing from education are quite apparent, yet in this country education has not been fully appreciated. The Great War Veterans' Association, recognizing the fact that education is a state function, and that the benefits are for the good of all classes, Dominion wide, is firmly of the opinion that some attempt should be made at an early date to institute an educational bureau as part of the federal government.



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PUTTING ITS FOOT DOWN.

Judge H. A. Robson, former chairman of the board of commerce in stating his reasons for not coming to Ottawa to take up the Murdock charges in detail, points out that the incident has been closed. He says that the whole thing is dead and buried:

"The government, as everyone now knows, put its foot down on the whole business and officially terminated its right there. The most serious charges preferred against cabinet ministers in office since the days of the Pacific scandal have been completely ignored by the administration. Charges of collusion with certain financial and manufacturing interests to betray the public and permit profiteering to continue unhampered are 'officially terminated', as Judge Robson happily says, by the simple expedient of ignoring them completely. The public are left to judge between the general denial of Sir Ro-

bert Borden that any of his ministers would be guilty of such acts as specifically alleged against them, and the impressive statement of Mr. Murdock, who made his charges openly and with every expectation of being called on to substantiate them. Not only does the government rest its case on its general denial but it says in effect to the people of the Dominion: 'If you believe us, well and good. If you believe what Mr. Murdock alleges, what are you going to do about it?'

The government has 'put its foot down on the whole business' to again quote Judge Robson. Truly a happy way of disposing of awkward situations. But somewhat reminiscent of the jackboot which was such a feature in Prussian rule in the halcyon days before the middle of 1914.

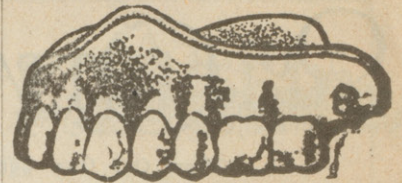
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A PERMANENT LABOR PARTY. Manitoba Free Press

One of the newly-elected members of the legislature at a meeting in the city on Sunday declared that the Labor group in the new house would number 13. To make up this number he included a couple of newly-elected members, non-English in nationality.

It is probable that this estimate is substantially correct. Though the group will represent diversified opinions, all the way from irreconcilable Socialism to moderate Labor, it will doubtless solidify into a definite political party under an acknowledged leader, who will unquestionably be F. J. Dixon. The strength of this group in the house will be considerably in excess of the support which it received upon election day, at least five of the 13 having secured their election on a minority vote. This group will constitute a vigorous and aggressive opposition party. It will use its position in the legislature for propaganda purposes, just as all political parties do in such circumstances, looking forward to the time when it hopes to become itself the government party.

The sudden appearance of so powerful a group has had a very disturbing effect upon some people. There are those who cannot dispossess themselves of the idea that the



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political field belongs exclusively and by right to the two historical parties. They regard new parties as mere interlopers, fated to disappear at an early day from the arena.

It is desirable that this idea should be abandoned, though it may take another election or two before the electors at large can be brought to recognize the fact that the Labor party represents a real and permanent political movement,

which is already strong and potentially is still more formidable. It embodies, social, industrial, economic and political conceptions widely different from those generally accepted in the past and still held by a substantial majority of the people. Its leaders dream of making over the world on new and radical lines, and their followers support them with a zeal which in intensity of feeling and capacity for self-sacrifice quite eclipses anything which the old parties have been able to show in these later days.

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Our OTTAWA LETTER

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Mr. Meighen duly took the oath of his high office on July 10th and immediately became immersed in the task of forming a Cabinet. His problem was comparatively simple — save Mr. Rowell and Burrell, all the members of the Cabinet were willing to take martyrs of themselves for the sake of \$14,000 per annum. It is a tidy sum and is a good sedative to restless or jealous spirits.

In the Cabinetmaking only two rules had to be strictly observed by the new Premier — avoid contact with the electorate through the medium of by-elections as much as possible and choose Ministers with safe seats. Mr. Meighen has not transgressed either of them.

He has only brought in enough Ministers to pacify the Maritime provinces, who, with Sir Robert's departure are completely bereft of representation. Nominally he has provided three, but in reality only two and a half. Mr. F. B. McCurdy of Colchester takes the Department of Public Works, and Mr. R. W. Wigmore, of St. John becomes Minister of Customs and Inland Revenue.

Both these gentlemen are Conservatives and the pretence of a Liberal flavor is maintained by the introduction of an elderly Nova Scotia Liberal in the shape of Mr. E. K. Spinney of Yarmouth. The latter a Liberal stronghold, would be impossible to retain at by-election and Mr. Spinney has therefore consented to sit without a portfolio, which frees him from the necessity of a by-election.

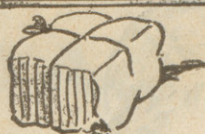
But after being sworn in, with his blushing honors thick upon him, he gave to the Canadian Press an amazing statement to the effect that he had only taken office on the understanding that he would not be ex-

pected to live in Ottawa save during the period of the sessions and that he would only attend Cabinet meetings when questions of sufficient importance arose to justify his presence. It is doubtful if any Minister of the British Crown has ever yawned to such a strange and naive statement. Who is to decide what are matters of sufficient importance to summon Mr. Spinney to Ottawa? Mr. Spinney himself or Mr. Meighen? Is not the business of the Canadian people of sufficient importance to justify a man who is admitted to the honor of a seat in the Cabinet giving his attention to it? Supposing some problem crops up and Mr. Spinney decided it is too trivial to bring him to Ottawa, and then it turns out to be very serious for the Canadian people, will Mr. Spinney admit the charge of neglect of duty and resign his seat?

Admirers of Mr. Meighen told us in their panegyrics that though a Conservative he would never shrink from innovations and he is already making good their claim. He has certainly set a strange precedent in summoning to the Cabinet a gentleman who proclaims at once that he is only an honorary Minister or half a Minister. We live in strange times.

Since Mr. F. B. McCurdy, who started life in a humble capacity in a bank, acquired a fortune through stockbroking and company promoting, he has developed political ambitions and got a good start for a public career by defeating Mr. W. S. Fielding at the reciprocity election of 1911. He made no particular mark in the House as an orator or parliamentarian, but was appointed during the war as Parliamentary Secretary to the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment.

Being one of the stern, unbending Tories, he never liked Union



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Government and never quite lost contact with his old friend, Mr. Robert Rogers. In 1919 he had a difference of opinion with the Cabinet, and, resigning office, attacked them in the House for slothfulness and inefficiency. But his insurgency soon abated and for the last year he has taken very little part in the proceedings of Parliament save that he made a sensible speech on the last Budget and stated the urgency of the case for economy. He is a good man of business and may bring a little strength to the Government on its administrative side, but he will be of little assistance in the House or on the platform. He can, however, always be relied upon by the big financial interests to state their case with emphatic firmness, and makes no pretence of progressive aspirations. His seat, Colchester, is traditionally Tory, but the United Farmers of Nova Scotia have been organizing in it and if they were given a free field, might cause him trouble.

Mr. Wigmore will be even less of a reinforcement to the Cabinet than Mr. McCurdy. He is a pleasant person, but his remarks adorn the pages of Hansard only at every rare intervals, and when they do appear they are not noted for their brilliance and sagacity. He is addicted to practical jokes upon his fellow-members, and is by way of being regarded as a humorist. If a few years ago when he was running a minor dairy business in St. John he had been told that in the year of grace 1920 he would have a seat in a Federal Cabinet, he would probably have laughed hilariously. Now probably he thinks he is the man for the post and humor of the situation is only visible to other people. He graduated into politics through work in civic administration, having served as City Commissioner for St. John for a period. He entered Parliament only in 1917 and must count himself the luckiest of mortals to gain such swift promotion. He need not cherish the delusion that he owes it to the possession of statesmanlike capacity or administrative genius so much as to the traditional temper of the city of St. John and a certain popularity which

he enjoys with its inhabitants. St. John has many foibles and peculiarities, but one stands out pre-eminent. It has a positive mania for being represented at Ottawa by a Cabinet Minister who can get a hand in the Treasury and ladle out money for the advancement of its destiny as the great winter port of Canada.

The standards set by that illustrious statesman, the Hon. William Pugsley, still survive, and woe betide the unhappy member for St. John who does not live up to them. It would be asking too much of St. John to expect it to repeat the chance of daily access to the Cabinet for its pleas for harbor improvements and dry rocks, and Mr. Wigmore will probably be returned either by acclamation or a comfortable majority. But if he does not show results and measure up to the standards of efficiency set by the Hon. William Pugsley as a special pleader for the New Brunswick port, he need expect short shrift at the next election.

Mr. Meighen probably has no illusions about the quality of his new Ministers, but in his defence it must be said that his choice was restricted. Mr. Stanley Elkin, the

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other member for St. John, was spoken of, but, like Geshurum, he has waxed fat on his nail business since 1914 till he is numbered among our financial potentates and has lost whatever popularity he had in his native city. Even as a Minister he would have difficulty in being re-elected.

Mr. Thomas Tweedie of Calgary was lurking in Ottawa, if it is possible for one of his ample bulk and honest character to "lurk", in the hope that Mr. Arthur Sifton might be subjected to a laying on of hands which would waft him to the Cabinet. Mr. H. B. Morphy of Perth was not far distant, with the office of Solicitor-General in his eye. But, alas, both Mr. Tweedie and Mr. Morphy represent seats where the electorate is very critical and turbulent and would be hard to persuade that the National-Liberal and Conservative party, alias the old Coalition of dishonored name, had any claim on its affections or votes. Mr. Meighen could not tempt Providence too much and the by-elections which are already at the moment necessary are fraught with a sufficiency of peril. So he has to send more than one ambitious aspirant away and bid him wait for more propitious times.

Meanwhile by-elections will be brought on at once in Colchester and St. John, and the opponents of the Government should combine in an effort to defeat the new Ministers. Success in such an effort is almost too much to hope for, but it would mean the immediate downfall of the Government. Under the recent Act, the election to fill the vacancy in East Elgin must be held in the near future, and the U. F. O. candidate should have no difficulty in winning the seat. West Peterboro, the seat of Mr. Burham, who, after leading the agitation for increased indemnities, has suddenly resigned, should also fall to the unit-

ed attack of the Farmers and Labor, but the contests in it and also, Mr. Burrell's seat, are certain to be deferred as long as possible.

There are some minor shuffles of the old cast in the cabinet. Sir James Lougheed goes to the Ministry of the Interior, and his old Department of Soldiers Civil re-establishment will gradually come under the sway of the Militia Dept., which Mr. Guthrie will manage. The place occupied by the departed Mr. Rowell as President of the Privy Council will now be occupied by another great moralist in the person of Mr. James A. Calder, who will also stick to his Department of immigration. Mr. Meighen, like Sir Robert, will look after the Department of External Affairs.

Most of the Ministers will take a holiday and the political world is likely to be sunk in torpor for some months. Mr. Meighen is expected to make a keynote speech in his faithful constituency of Portage La Prairie, and during the summer Mr. King will tell his tale at selected points in the West. There are at least five Senatorships to be filled up and important offices in the High Commissionership in London and the Minister at Washington. The making of these appointments will furnish some clue to the possibilities of Mr. Meighen for good or evil.

Undoubtedly more than one other member of the cabinet would have liked to drop out, and Mr. Meighen, had he been master of his fate, would in all probability have welcomed an opportunity of dispensing with more than one malevolent whom he thoroughly distrusts. If he survives the perils of the first few months he will probably attempt a more thorough reorganization of the Ministry ere the next session begins. What he should do if he consulted the interests of the country to re-organize its Parliament. The

electorate voted in 1917 to return the Coalition Ministry of Sir Robert Borden on the issue of the better furtherance of the national war effort. They had some confidence in the virtues and abilities of the original Cabinet, but Sir Robert and nine other members of it have disappeared in various directions. Completely different issues from those of 1917 are now occupying the public mind and Parliament and the Cabinet must deal with them.

But the Meighen Ministry cannot pretend that it has a mandate from the electorate in any shape or form, and it will soon realize that the confidence of the voters is no longer given to it. Since the armistice the Cabinet has undergone a steady weakening process. Put Mr. Spinney against Mr. Burrell, can any one pretend that Messrs. McCurdy and Wigmore can begin to fill the shoes of Sir Robert Borden and Mr. Rowell? Yet any other changes that Mr. Meighen may be compelled to make will show even a steeper deterioration.

If Mr. Meighen consults his own interests he will face the electorate and allow them to relegate him to the shades of opposition as soon as possible. He can there begin to prepare for his real career in years to come and build up a strong and re-invigorated Tory party. But he can neither do any good for himself or his party till he rids of the majority of the helpless mediocrities and case-hardened reactionaries who now constitute its chief unstrength.

Since 1911 Conservatism in Canada has produced no figures save Mr. Meighen himself and Mr. Nickle if the latter can be considered a Conservative, who show a promise of statesmanship and a period of recuperation in Opposition is badly needed. But the pressure from to hang on members who see no other means in sight of making \$4,000 per annum will be very strong and if Mr. Meighen succumbs to it, he may make the survival of the Tory party a nationwide organization impossible. The term Tory party is used deliberately for no one excepts any Liberal Unionists

to survive the next election, and the word National-Liberal will be superfluous.

J. A. Stevenson.

GOOD FOR NEE

Old Nebuchadnezzar, they tell,
Ate grass like a dumb animal;
When he struck a thistle
It made the king whistle;
But he beat out the h. e. of l.

**Prices Must Tumble
and Wages Stay Up**

Quoting statistics to prove that there had been persistent profiteering in food, clothing and other necessities, Mr. Tom Moore, president of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, speaking at the opening of the Quebec Provincial Council of Carpenters in Hull City on July 1, declared that prices will tumble and must tumble, but that the present wages to workers should remain the same. In support of his contention, Mr. Moore declared that the actual increase in the cost of making a pair of boots over 1914 was 13 cents, while the retailers were asking \$10 to \$12 for boots that sold in 1914 for \$5. The price of bread, he declared, had advanced seven and eight cents on a loaf over the 1914 price, while the actual cost of labor producing bread had only increased five-eighths of a cent. He quoted the prices of other necessities to the same effect.

"Even when prices take the big tumble that is sure to come, the manufacturers can afford to pay the present wages and still make handsome profits," said Mr. Moore.

The speaker also urged upon the council the necessity to amend the Industrial Disputes Act so that firms and employees outside public utilities could apply for boards of arbitration, with compulsory acceptance by the other party involved.

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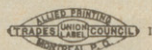
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Eugenie And Gaby

TWO feminine figures have passed out of this mortal existence recently, both of whom played prominent part in the life of the French nation. A strange contrast they afford: the ex-Empress Eugenie weighed down with years that came near a century, the autocrat and the spoiled beauty of past age, the relic of a system of government that the people of France had repudiated; Gaby Deslys, the charming and bewitching danseuse, also rich, also powerful because she could please the whole world, smitten down in her youth by disease. Both of them had wealth, and how did they dispose of it and with what effect? The newspapers show that the ex-Empress had an estate worth something like ten million dollars, and Gaby Deslys left something not far from short of that, a large part of which was in jewellery. Eugenie bequeathed her money to one in the same line of business, to the Queen of Spain, who presumably has quite enough to keep the wolf from the door. Gaby, the light-hearted and light-footed darling of the boards, was equally soft-hearted, and amid all the gayety of life by which her profession surrounded her, evidently she was struck by the miseries of the poor and unfortunate, and after making fair provision for her relatives — who were not rich — she bequeathed the bulk of her estate to the poor of Marseilles, which like New York, Liverpool, Montreal and all leading ports, has its full measure of poverty, so that some-one's comment on this bequest, that "there will be no poor left in Marseilles", is not likely to prove correct.

If certain current historians are correct, the Empress Eugenie played a rather important part in bringing about the Franco-Prussian war; and it is said that her one desire during the great war was to see her own country avenged. This desire was gratified, but did she do anything to help to restore that devastated country? Five or ten million dollars devoted to the rebuilding of one or two small towns, or to the re-building of Rheims Cathedral — what a monument that would have been

to one who was associated with the name of Napoleon? But no, the money goes to a Spanish Queen, the daughter of the English Royal family. It was left for the danseuse to show the royal spirit, to give back to the people what they had given to her, although by giving the public what they always need, amusement and entertainment, that money had been legitimately earned.

It may seem ungracious to ignore the old injunction "De mortuis nil nisi bonum"; only it is not a matter of persons, but of principles and systems. The old order of autocrats and autocracies has passed away, and the people at least expect that those who have especial privileges or wealth shall use it for other than merely selfish purposes.

Caedmon.

Thin Edge of the Wedge

"High prices in England have induced King George to revert to the feudal system of payment with some of his dependents. Henceforth most of the agricultural laborers on his estates will receive all but a small percentage of their wages in goods instead of money. Under the plan they will live rent free and are to receive special weekly allowances of various foodstuffs, as well as tobacco, beer and a clothing allowance. In money they will get only \$1 a week each. All but a handful of the workers agreed to accept the king's offer as being a practical solution of the high price situation."

So reads the news paragraph. As King George is a man of right principles, these modern Esaus will probably have no difficulty put in their way to prevent them reverting to the more modern wage system when prices come down. The dollar a week which they are receiving meantime will certainly not enable any of them to become plutocrats.

The incident points a moral.

From the days when Jacob saw Esau's exhausted condition, and taking pity on him, gave him temporary relief in exchange for his birthright, the capitalist has always been the upper dog. The man who has nothing put by for the inevitable rainy day gets a severe wetting and is sometimes drowned.

Thrift, Thrift, Horatio!

G. C.

Attitude of the Shoe Manufacturers to Labor

The outlook of the shoe manufacturers on Labor and their attitude to it was voiced during the Shoe Retailers Association convention at Montreal by Joseph Daoust, of Daoust, Lalonde and Company, who advised his fellow manufacturers to reduce prices 10 per cent to retailers, and advised retailers to help keep the factories running and the labor employed, by buying slowly now, and not waiting for big reductions which would not come.

In the course of his remarks he gave six reasons why shoe prices would not collapse. The fifth of these was the cost of Labor. He said:

"When we touch on Labor we must be very careful what we say — especially from a manufacturer. A manufacturer is a capitalist, and anything called a capitalist is from the Labor point of view an enemy, not a friend. Are they right in thinking so? No they are not. I am here to say that the manufacturer or the capitalist is the friend of Labor, because one needs the other (cheers). We have to work in harmony, if we want to be successful. We must march hand in hand, because if capital needs labor, labor needs capital to make a living.

"Will Labor come down? I do not think so. I believe, on the contrary, that Labor will be more expensive — will go still higher. My reason is — If food, rent, coal are maintained at the present high rate you cannot expect lower wages to be accepted. And these things are going higher all the time. Capitalists have got to give the workers enough to support their families decently — not as slaves, but as men (cheers). I feel sure the moment the shoe factories open up and work to full capacity we will have a demand for increased wages as sure as you live."

Cheering news for the shoe workers was announced by George G. Gales, the new president of the Retailers Association, who said the convention last week had resulted in the booking of a large amount of business by the manufacturers, which would keep the factories busy for a long time.

How British Labor Trains

Ruskin College and Other Democratic Schools.

(By ETHELBERT POGSON, London Correspondent of the Railroader.)

BRITISH Labor has its great names, which resound the world over, which resound the world over, but she has an even more valuable human asset; an almost inexhaustible number of the may-be-great. For this she has to thank her several training schools, ever turning out men and women with ideas backed by careful study.

Foremost among these institutions is Ruskin College, Oxford, which though peculiarly British in method and outlook, was founded in 1899 by Mr. and Mrs. Walter Vrooman, two Americans. The only connection with the Ruskin tradition is just the sentimental one of admiration for the great economist. The curriculum is in no sense based on his teaching. Control is in the hands of a committee to which representatives are sent by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, the General Federation of Trade Unions, the Co-operative Union and the Working Men's Club and Institute Union. Proposals are on foot and almost certain to be accepted for representation to be given also to any working class organization or

group of organizations which gives an annual subscription or upwards or provides a scholarship of the same amount, two representatives for a subscription of \$375 per annum, and three for \$1,000 per annum.

Most of the students reach Ruskin College through scholarships from the unions, but there is a promising and popular correspondence section. If there is room a man will be taken if he can pay his own fees, providing his other credentials are right. Women for some time were not admitted to residence for lack of accommodation but a development scheme has now provided a women's hostel, known as Queen's College. There are a few foreign students.

Fees charge are \$325 for a year of 33 weeks. This sum covers board and lodging. Residence for periods of less than a year is charged at \$7 per week. It is necessary to have \$100 in hand on entry for books and small expenses; in some cases the organization sending the man provides a book grant.

The social sciences are, as would be expected, the subjects specially stressed at the College, but modern language, literature, poetry, biography and the drama also receive

attention. The object is to equip students in such a manner that their usefulness to the Labor movement may be increased. Generally speaking after taking the course the student returns to the district from whence he came and the work which has been interrupted — the miner back to the mine, the weaver to the mill. He is thus able to be of infinite help to his fellow members in the local trade union branch and Labor Party organization, providing the leaven which leavens the lump. When the movement wants a minor official he is ready to repay with service what the movement through Ruskin College has given him and he frequently earns the right to the larger confidence and the more responsible position. There are many old Ruskin men in the present list of Parliamentary candidates.

Just a glance at the College curriculum. The general plan will suffice for the present purpose. I quote from an official publication:

A. First Year.

1. Industrial History.
2. Elementary Economics.
3. The History of British Political Institutions.
4. The History and Practice of Co-operation, and
5. Co-operative Book-keeping; or
6. The History and Practice of Trade Unionism and
7. Trade Union Law.
8. English: Language and Literature (optional for second year students.)

B. Second Year.

1. Social and Industrial History of the 18th and 19th centuries.
2. Advanced Economics.
3. The Theory and Practice of the Constitution.
4. Local Government.

With special courses arranged according to individual requirements.

C. Optional Courses.

1. The History and Theory of Socialism.
2. Current Social and Political Questions.
3. Class in Public Speaking.
4. Book-keeping, with special reference to Trade Union requirements.
5. Classes in French and German.

The classes in economics delve fairly deeply. They take such phases as the Theory of Value, Factors in Production, Organization of Industry, Consumption of Wealth, Distribution of Wealth, Public Finance (including public revenue and debts), Incidence of Taxation, Taxation of Land Values, Taxation as a means of Social Reform, Money, Banking and Credit, Foreign Trade.

Socialism in all its phases is studied and debated, in the political science section, and, generally speaking, the student emerges a whole-souled socialist. It is not the never-failing rule, of course. The most case-hardened Tory journalist I know has become so through sheer reaction against what he heard at Ruskin. But these things happen everywhere.

The Correspondence classes are

comprehensive and cheap. The fees are \$10.50 a year or \$3 down and 75c. a month for eleven months.

Over 100 Labor and trade union organizations are now contributing to the upkeep of the College. The Principal is H. Sanderson Furniss.

Smaller in size and influence, but still of considerable value, is the Labor College, sometimes known as the Central Labor College in Earl's Court, London.

This institution is entirely owned and controlled by the National Union of Railwaymen and the South Wales Miners' Federation. There are six Governors representing equally these two organizations. The College has accommodation for about 30 students.

Subjects taught are: Economics, History of Economic Theory, Industrial History, History of Political Institutions, Law and Morality, Sociology, the Nature of Human Brainwork, History of the Modern Working-class Movement, Municipal Government and Problems, English, Grammar, Foreign Languages, Elocution, Inorganic and Organic Evolution. Daily lecture courses are so arranged as to permit of non-students attending and special courses of evening lectures are available each term for the convenience of workmen engaged during the day. There is also a correspondence course.

Entrance is by scholarship of \$500 per annum, which covers tuition, board and residence. Each student must send a medical certificate of health and fitness. Students are expected to keep their own rooms clean. The correspondence course costs 25c entrance fee for each subject taken, with 50c a month for correction of each essay or set of exercises. Students desiring to study collectively may form themselves into a class and pay \$1.20 for the class with \$1.85 for answers to each set of questions. There is also a lectures-by-post course in Industrial History.

The Workers' Educational Association, which requires no detailed description here, has made great strides in Britain. It has now federated to it 2526 organizations, including about 1,071 trade unions, trade councils and branches, 384 co-operative societies and committees, 199 adult schools, brotherhoods, etc., 8 university bodies, 25 local education authorities, 100 working men's clubs, institutes, etc., 176 teachers' associations, 73 educational and literary societies, and 328 various societies, mainly of workpeople. These figures are exclusive of overseas activities.

Since its inception in 1903, as result of a conference of trade unionists and co-operators, the W.E.A. has become the largest voluntary educational association in existence. Its British membership now stands at 17,136. In nearly 300 cities, towns and villages of the United Kingdom, it has organized or secured increased educational facilities in harmony with the desires of the workers. It has also helped to secure nu-

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merous reforms in educational administration.

It has created the system of Tutorial Classes, in which thousands of workers have been able to study under the finest scholars of the day, in their own time and way, subjects such as Industrial History, Economics, Sociology, Psychology, Political and Constitutional Theory and History, and Literature. There are now 230 of these classes, with 4,500 students. In addition 4,250 students are in 281 one-year classes. The monthly organ of the W.E.A. is "The Highway".

Largely through the assistance of the W.E.A., a working Women's College has been opened this year

in connection with the Young Women's Christian Association, at Beckenham, Kent. Subjects being taught are Theology, English Literature, Music, Sociology, Constitutional History, Biology, English Psychology, French Mathematics, Domestic Science and Crafts.

A workers' Educational Trade Union Committee is also progressing fairly well with the founding of a trade union education scheme. Summer schools and study circles have been formed in a number of districts, but the movement is still in its infancy.

The Iron and Steel Trades Federation is the strongest force behind it.

A Labor View of The French Railway Strike

(American Federationist)

The trade union movement of France has recently given a significant demonstration of the ineffectiveness in themselves of laws enacted supposedly to protect the rights of workers and a more potent demonstration of the effectiveness of trade union action to secure redress for wrong and to obtain and maintain a right. Three hundred thousand railway employees in France recently struck to compel the management of the Paris-Lyon-Mediterranean Railroad Company to obey the trade union law of the French Republic.

The "solidarity" strike paralyzed the railway service for a number of days. It emphasizes again the folly of the workers relying on statute law to guarantee their rights and demonstrates once more the necessity of strong economic organizations to protect the fundamentals of economic liberty.

The French trade union law legalizes trade unions and their functions. Under its provisions the right of the workers to organize and conduct the business of their unions without molestation by the employers is guaranteed.

The French Federation of Railway Employees has agreements with the railway companies which provide that employees who are trade union officials will be given leave of absence to perform their trade union functions.

The secretary of the executive council of the Paris-Lyon-Mediterranean Division of the Federation of Railway Employees called a meeting of the council for February 13-14, at Dijon.

A railway worker named Campanaud, a member of the Villeneuve-Saint-George local of the railway employees, was employed in the Villeneuve-Triage shops of the P.-L.-M., in the Department of Seine-et-Oise. Campanaud was also a member of the executive council called in session at Dijon. In accordance with the agreement with the management, Campanaud applied for leave of absence eight days before the Dijon meeting. The management re-

fused to grant the leave. Campanaud, nevertheless, went to Dijon and performed his official functions. Upon his return the management discharged him for being absent without leave.

The Villeneuve-St-George local demanded his reinstatement. It was refused. On February 20, two thousand of his shop associates struck in protest for half a day. When they returned to the shops the doors were closed, officials announcing that no one would be admitted who did not agree to remain at work. None of the strikers would make the agreement. This was the inception of the strike to protect Campanaud, which within a few days tied up French transportation.

By February 23 the strike extended from one end to the other of the P.-L.-M. lines.

On February 25 the executive of the National Federation of Railway Employees took charge and requested the government to intervene and enforce the trade union law against the P.-L.-M. Minister of Public Works Le Troquer called the managing officials of all the French railways to his office to talk the matter over. The P.-L.-M. refused to re-instate Campanaud. The officials of the other roads backed them up. Confronted with the united defiance of the railway dictators, Le Troquer declined to intervene, even to the extent of arbitrating the dispute with himself as arbitrator, which the railway employees' council had asked him to do.

The Executive council of the Federation of Railway Employees continued their conciliatory efforts for the restoration of Campanaud. The P.-L.-M. responded by a blanket order discharging all employees who did not return to work at once. The government responded by mobilizing 10,000 strikers as soldiers, thus making them subject to courts-martial law for refusal to obey orders.

Still unwilling to take other than conciliatory measures until every possibility of a peaceful settlement of the dispute was exhausted, the executive council placed the matter before Prime Minister Millerand, former radical socialist and, ac-

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According to "l'Humanité" of Paris, former legal adviser of the very railway unions now on strike, to protect their legal rights. Mille-rand declined to intervene.

The time for decisive action had come. If a powerful railway company like the P.-L.-M. could violate the statute law and discharge trade union officials for attending to ordinary trade union business, other hostile employers would apply the same policy. The evident result would be the disruption of the trade union movement.

The National Council of the Federation of Railway Employees did not hesitate. On February 28 it answered the challenge of the consolidated railway employers and the government by calling a general strike affecting every railway in France. The strike order read:

Outraged by the attack on their trade union rights made by the P.-L.-M. Company, the railway employees on that line and in the Paris region, actuated by a sentiment of solidarity and dignity, have struck in protest. The strike is spreading from hour to hour.

The Federation, conscious of its responsibility and after having exhausted every conciliatory means to secure the revocation of the suspension and discharge orders pending arbitration of the questions at issue, only to be met by the most extreme obstinence on the part of the P.-L.-M., the Minister of Public Works, and the Prime Minister, has decided to call a strike on all the railroads.

You are consequently asked to consider this notice as an effective strike order, imposing upon you the immediate obligation to quit work.

The executive council urges that the strike be conducted in the most orderly manner and that every possible measure be taken to assure security and to avoid every provocation to sabotage. Strikers will remain out until this order is revoked.

On the same day the General Confederation of Labor entered the battle for trade union liberty with a ringing declaration which said:

The cause of the strike is the punishment afflicted on an active worker of the P.-L.-M. Company, a punishment which destroyed the free exercise of trade union liberty guaranteed by the law.

The responsible company refused to yield to the conciliatory demands

of the Federation of Railway Employees, who desired to settle the dispute without a strike whose consequences no one can foretell.

The government refuses to intervene, in spite of a recent precedent in a much graver case, the Périgueux strike, to obtain the withdrawal of an unjustifiable punishment.

Twice the Minister of Public Works refused to intercede with the railway officials whose act was opposed to the public interest.

By refusing to suspend the punishment of an active worker pending arbitration, the Prime Minister has assumed a heavy responsibility. In refusing to grant this request, the railway company demonstrates that it is animated by the desire to engage in battle with the trade union movement.

Under these conditions the position of the General Confederation of Labor automatically states itself. It declares its solidarity with the strikers and assures them its full support.

At least 300,000 out of 400,000 railway employees responded to the strike order.

The government opened recruiting stations for strike-breakers, enlisting a motley lot of industrial dregs sprinkled with students looking for adventure.

But the railway service was practically dead. Two days of trade union solidarity was enough for both the railway companies and the government. The companies yielded in the early morning of March 2. The representatives of the Federation of Railway Employees met the representatives of the railway companies in the afternoon at the office of the Minister of Public Works. An agreement was signed by which the companies agreed to abide by the trade union law, to re-instate Campanaud and all workers suspended or discharged for similar "infractions of discipline", and not to victimize in any way any person for strike activities.

The statute law did not protect Campanaud and his associates in their fundamental rights.

Nor did the officials of the French government, whose duty it is to enforce the law, protect them.

It was the organized economic solidarity of the workers expressed through the trade union which put Campanaud back on the job and injected the red blood of life into the statute corpse. This same organized economic solidarity would have accomplished the re-instatement of Campanaud, even if there had been no such law on the statute books of France.

THE C.P.R. AND ITS VETERANS.

With a total of 18,330 returned soldiers given employment up to June 30th, the C. P. R. has achieved a record which its officials consider the best record in the history of the Company. When any C.P.R. man sailed for voluntary service overseas, he carried with him not only

credit for six months' pay, but also the promise of a position awaiting his return, of equal value to the one he left. That promise was more than kept, for the C.P.R. scale of pay was raised during the war to correspond with the increased cost of living, and re-employment in the same position in most cases meant thrown wide open to C. P. R. re-employment at a higher wage or salary.

Moreover, not only was the door thrown wide open to C. P. R. returned men, but for all new openings preference has been given to returned men in general — so that whereas the Company's moral obligation covered only the seven thousand who applied for re-instatement, its actual record has been the employment of over eighteen thousand

ex-service men—or more than twenty per cent. of the total payroll. The actual figures up to June 30th, 1920, are as follows:—

Total reported as joining the


Army	11,602
Dead	1,100
Wounded	2,088
Re-employed in the service .	7,008
Other soldiers given employment	11,322
Total soldiers given employment	18,330

Army service naturally upset the old order of life, and a percentage of those who might have come back to railway service in Canada drifted elsewhere. Of the various types of railway employee, the trainmen and enginemen appear to have remained most true to their old love, as the following figures show:—

	Killed or Died on Enlisted Active Service.	Re-employed.
Train and Enginemen	1,880	201
Shopmen	2,737	274
Clerical	3,077	280
Miscellaneous	2,860	313
Maintenance of Way Employees	508	32
Total	11,062	1,100

If the "Veteran" Army of the C.P.R. were ever to parade together, it would make a brave showing of medals and decorations. Of the C.P.R. men re-employed, 370 or over 5% won special distinction of this

nature, including two V.C.'s; 2 C. M.G.'s; 17 D.S.O.'s; 3 with bar to D.S.O.'s; 3 D.S.C.'s; 54 M.C.'s; 47 D.C.M.'s; 180 M.M.'s; 13 with bar to M. M.; 17 M.S.M.'s; 13 Croix de Guerre and one Legion of Honor.



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Co-Operation As A Trouble Cure In Five Cafeterias

"Coworkers", interested in the business produce 100 per cent. more profit than employees working for wages, John H. Leighton, a San Francisco restaurant proprietor, discovered when he placed his enterprise on a co-operative basis and made each person on his pay-roll a shareholder. Not only did the profits increase, but Mr. Leighton found that the new system did away with most of the perplexities and harassments that theretofore had pestered him. "When I operated under the old system I never knew what trouble was coming from one moment to the next", he says. "Dissatisfaction, discontent, disorder, dissension, and a multitude of other discords were the prevailing condition." Under the new régime, however, we are told that the "business practically runs itself." In an article in "The Co-operative News (San Francisco)" Mr. Leighton explains that his primary purpose in placing his business on a co-operative basis was not so much to make more money as to do "the right thing" by his employees. His experiment revealed what he calls the "remarkable fact" that letting his workers in on a share in the management and profits of his concern has proved not an act of philanthropy but a capital stroke of business. The Leighton restaurants, five in number, are located in San Francisco. The business is divided into 87,500 shares, of which Mr. Leighton owns only 9,576, the co-workers owning the balance. "This shows plainly that I am working for my associates rather than they for me", says Mr. Leighton. In regard to the larger amount of profits obtained after the business was placed on a co-operative basis, the following explanation is given:

Our books show that our high productivity of co-workers, or those co-operatively employed, is a fact and not a supposition, and I think I

can explain in part why it is true. Under the co-operative system every man and woman is working for himself and not for someone else. This realization on the part of the worker not only increases his interest in his work, but makes a new man of him, from a human standpoint. It puts him on a new basis of thinking and living. New and broader ideals are established in his thought and new energies are released. When I say this I am not speaking theoretically, for my statement is based on close observation of, and contact with, our men and women — and I have the figures to back up the statement.

One very practical reason why the worker who has a substantial stake in the business in which he is engaged is more productive than he would be in the ordinary employer-employee relation, is that he will not be wasteful in his work and he will discourage wastefulness or idleness in his co-workers. In the ordinary restaurant business wastefulness in food, breakage, inattention to business, and such conditions are a serious drain upon the business, and when these are overcome and alertness to duty, efficiency, and desire to please the public are substituted for discourtesy and indifference, or worse, the cash-register is bound to show the difference in a very striking way.

To be specific, the co-operative principle has enabled us to operate with a greatly reduced force—sixty-five co-workers doing work that would require one hundred employees under the employer-employee system. There, in that one item, is a most remarkable instance of saving. As showing further the great stimulus to productivity brought about by the application of the co-operative principle, I will state that six months after a salary bonus was inaugurated the net earnings of the company increased from 25 to 50

per cent., this enlarged net profit being due to the increased efficiency of the co-workers and the elimination of waste. The amount distributed in the form of salary bonus each month is not less than 20 per cent. of the net profits for that month. The salary bonus is apportioned to the co-workers on the basis of salaries and has amounted to from 20 to 25 per cent. of the salary of each one for each month. Each co-worker, therefore, receives each month his regular salary, which is in advance of the regular union scale, and in addition to this his salary bonus, which amounts to from 20 to 25 per cent. of his salary, and in addition to these amounts his dividends on his shares.

Returning this high percentage of the profits to the co-workers in the form of salary bonus did not, therefore, really cost the business anything for the reason that the increased productivity of the co-workers caused by the bonus enabled the business to increase its net profits from 25 to 50 per cent. In fact, the salary-bonus system has cut the cost of our raw material and merchandise from 25 to 50 per cent. through increasing the interest and efficiency of the workers.

If the employer had to give up his capital and profits in order to put his business on a co-operative basis, the co-operative idea could not be expected to show very much voluntary and spontaneous growth; but if it can be shown that he can adopt the co-operative method—turn his employees into co-workers—and lose nothing but care, perplexity, and harassment in the transaction, the chances are pretty good that he will try the experiment.

Mr. Leighton emphasizes the point that if the co-operative system is adopted in any business it should be done with "the right motive." He goes on to explain:

I firmly believe that in a co-operative business where the human element, represented by a large number of individuals, makes so large a factor in the undertaking, the nature of the motive held by the prime mover and the co-workers is a most vital factor in the situation and will go far to make the venture a success or a failure. If the organizer and his associates are absolutely sincere, if they have some conception of the principle underlying the true and just relations of individuals in industry, and if they have a greater desire to establish just and happy relations than they have to make money, then they have laid the foundation of success and the battle is already more than half won. The right purpose, the good will, and the united thought of the co-workers will prove irresistible and failure will be impossible.

But if, on the other hand, the prime motive on the part of the organizers of a co-operative industry is to get money as quick as possible, cross-purposes, confusion, and strife would come in, and under such conditions the chances of success would be diminished.

Mr. Leighton offers the following suggestions to any employer who might be inclined to try the co-operative experiment in his own business:

The simplest plan of procedure would perhaps be for him first to allow the employees to purchase 49 per cent. interest in his business as



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the business at the cost of installation and pay them a good salary bonus besides. My experience shows that if he were to do this he would make as much money out of his 51 per cent. interest in his business as he did when he owned it all, and he would lose his care and harassment in the bargain. It seems to me that this is a most remarkable fact and one that should challenge the attention of all interested in industrial problems.

It is suggested that many business men would be deterred from selling more than 50 per cent. of their stock to their employees, owing to the difficulty of keeping the control of the business in the hands of those who understand it, and the fear that poor methods, the confusion of many minds, or other unfortunate conditions would soon wreck the enterprise. Mr. Leighton says he holds only 5 per cent. interest in the San Francisco cafeteria, and he tells what methods is used by him and his associates to handle the question of control:

This cafeteria in which the workers hold 95 per cent. of the stock is organized not as a corporation, nor as a co-partnership, but by a simple form of agreement between me on the one hand and those who contribute the money on the other hand, entire control and management of the business being retained in my hands. No one who is not actually giving service in connection with the business may hold stock or financial interest in the business and all co-workers are encouraged to purchase shares. The shares are fairly well distributed between the 135 co-workers and the net profits are distributed monthly to each shareholder in proportion to his holdings. That is, if a worker has shares amounting to 1 per cent. of the total amount of money invested in the business he receives each month 1 per cent. of the net profits of the business for that month. If a shareholder leaves, his stock is bought by me and sold to another co-workers.

In addition to this distribution of profits to shareholders each co-worker, who has put in full time, whether he owns shares or not, receives a monthly salary bonus which has amounted to about 26 per cent of his salary. The purpose of this provision is to make the undertaking as strictly co-operative as possible by allowing all co-workers who have not yet been able to purchase shares to participate in the earnings of the business.

And this bonus is given only to those who have worked full time, it has had the effect of increasing very greatly the productivity of the business. The salaries paid the co-workers are in advance of the union scale.

From the financial standpoint these business places have been remarkably successful, but the encouraging thing about this feature of it is the fact that success has been attained without added cost to the consumer. In two of our places,

for example the average cost of meals to the patron is twenty-four and one-half cents, in another forty-one cents, and in another forty-two cents.

In one of our San Francisco houses we furnish meals for between five thousand and six thousand persons a day. There are about three hundred co-workers in the five houses in the San Francisco Bay District, these serving about fifteen thousand persons a day.

The financial success of the business has been gained through a remarkable increase in the efficiency of the workers, and this increased productivity has been gained through the use of the co-operative principle.

Democratic Management

AN experiment in democratic management of industry being made by a group of Cleveland manufacturers of garments and the trade union of their employees is being hailed in some quarters as a panacea for the vexing problem of the relations of capital, labor and the public. It really does not go as far in the direction of democratic control as some experiments being tried out in Britain and other countries, but it has one novel feature of more than passing interest.

The thirty-nine employers and 7,000 employees have engaged a firm of industrial efficiency engineers, at a cost of \$50,000 to be borne equally by the two parties, to show them the best ways of doing business and to cut out waste of movement and material.

Mark what is implied in this new departure. The employers thereby abandon the time-honored pretension that their ability in handling their capital is the predominant factor in the success of an enterprise and that therefore they as managers and capitalists are entitled to any profits obtainable after paying their workers a living wage. They admit that they have need to go to school to learn business management, just as most workers admit that they may with advantage receive instruction of the technique of their trade. The principle thus tacitly conceded ought to be of first importance in establishing better relations between employers and employees.

In the agreement between these Cleveland manufacturers and garment workers it is expressly recognized that both parties have an interest in increased and economical production; that in the last analysis it is the public, including themselves, which provides both wages and profits, not capital, which pays nothing unless the business is being carried on at a loss, but merely provides the means by which goods are manufactured and sold to the public. On this understanding the two parties undertook to increase production by more efficient methods and by regular operation instead of rush and slack seasons; and it is claimed the industry has found a

way to pay higher wages, and also reduce prices, thus increasing the amount of business and enabling the high wages to buy more.

Conferences are held between the managers and elected representatives of the employees, at which suggestions for improvement in shop practices or conditions are discussed, and complaints considered. Questions not settled at these conferences go to a general industrial board representing the employers and employees, and then, if necessary, to an outside arbitration board whose decisions are binding.

Minimum wages have been struck, and additional pay is given the workers, based on increased production, the schedule being a matter of careful investigation and decision after consultation with the efficiency engineers. It is said that the standards being fixed by both employers and employees have proved fairly satisfactory, and the old policy of speeding up and cutting rates by which short sighted employers brought piece work into disrepute has been avoided.

Probably one reason for the suc-

cess claimed for the Cleveland scheme lay in the fact that garment making was formerly a chaotic industry, and that there was plenty of room for organizing it on a steady basis, offering many opportunities of greater efficiency and economy. In other industries, better organized and showing a steady production throughout the year, improvements and economies might not offer such advantages. In any case the success of the scheme must depend largely on the willingness of employers or managers to be content with reasonable salaries and a reasonable profit on their capital investment. In the garment making industry the question of returns on capital is not so exigent as it is in great industries overloaded with watered stock. While fictitious capital is able to make a powerful demand for dividends the general body of workers are not likely to show much interest in plans for increasing production, since their share of the proceeds may not be commensurate with the increased efforts that may be required of them.

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Colleges In The Labor Movement

London's Labor College Largely Influences Railwaymen and Miners
—Politically Controlled by Ex tremists.

(Christian Science Monitor)

London, Eng.—The mental outlook of the workers toward social problems is a fairly safe indication of the direction in which they propose to travel in their efforts to reclaim the world. It is possible, too, to gather from among the minor questions discussed at conferences a great deal more of their ultimate aim than is possible from the speeches and decisions delivered on what are regarded as the important resolutions. At the recent conference of the Railway Clerks' Association, the "star" item was the recommendation of the executives in regard to wages, when it was resolved to make immediate application for an advance of 25 per cent. All the papers clung on to it and gave the matter that prominence which labor questions now demand. In a way, and of far greater significance, was the decision of the conference in regard to such an innocent and unobtrusive question as education, inasmuch as it reveals the school of thought that is beginning to dominate the railway clerks.

To Which Labor College?

The question arose in this wise. Following the lead of the miners, the engineers, the railwaymen and a number of other unions, the railway clerks had come to this conclusion that it was advisable that a certainway system. The influence of the

number of their younger men should be trained in social and political problems, that they should abandon for a time their desks and take residence at one of the Labor colleges, free from care, and devote their whole energies to the study of the problems of the day. Up to this point the railway clerks were to all intents and purposes unanimous; the division in their ranks, which resulted in the triumph of the extremists, cropped up when the question arose: At which of the two colleges should their students take up residence? Should they be sent to Ruskin College, Oxford, which is in a kind of way connected with the University and the Workers Educational Association, or to the Labor College, Earls Court, London, to whom the universities and all their teachings are anathema?

The difference between these two Labor colleges and their respective positions in the British Labor Movement are familiar to readers of The Christian Science Monitor. That such a modest and ultra respectable and cautious body of men, such as the railway clerks are known to be should decide in favor of Marxian teachings, with its labor theory of value, materialist conception of history, and the class struggle, shows to what extent the influence of the Labor College has permeated the whole of the railway system. The influence of the

Labor College upon the railwaymen and the miners, the manner and extent of its teachings within these industries, are also known to the readers of The Christian Science Monitor.

New School of Thought

It is extremely doubtful, however, if the press generally even now fully appreciates the part played by former students of the Labor College in the schemes of working class development. It is nearly a year ago since the writer urged that the decision of the miners and railwaymen to demand nationalization and joint control, was a distinct triumph for the new school of thought, and the result of "a well considered policy courageously and systematically pursued by groups of energetic students scattered over the countryside." As is the custom among other students of this college, the railway clerks, when they have finished their training, will return to their ordinary duties and impart the knowledge gained to classes of fellow workers, who in turn also become teachers until every center of railway activity is alive with the consideration of economic problems.

It is not difficult to realize that it is only a matter of time for all the energetic and interested men inside a trade union to be more or less imbued with the doctrines disseminated. No such system appears to have been instituted in connection with Ruskin College; there appears to be no kind of link between the college and old students; there are certainly no provincial classes held under its auspices unless it can be said that those conducted by the Workers Educational Association are somehow connected. At all events the lecturers of the latter organizations are not former students of Ruskin College, are not even drawn from the ranks of trade unions, but are in the main university men sympathetic to Labor ideals.

All this leads to the conclusion that education in political science is in the hands of the extremists, and explains somewhat the present state of the industrial Labor movement. It is useless denying the fact that the Marxian economics are being assimilated by tens of thousands of young trade unionists who are the leaders of tomorrow, and upon whom will devolve the responsibility of shaping the policy of the industrial and political movement. University extension lectures have little or no influence among the rank and file, who regard the university "as the breeding ground of reaction."

Listening to Both Sides

For some months past the monthly report of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers has given a hearing to the partisans of both Ruskin College, supporters of the latter suggesting that the half dozen students now being trained at the former at the expense of the union should be transferred to the latter institution. It is contended, that the problem of the mine, the factory, the workshop, is not to be solved by the university.

The latter is the place where men are taught to govern, it is the governing class who control it, it is they who decide what shall be taught and as the interest of those people is in direct antagonism to the interest of the workers they will take care to keep out of the curriculum of higher education all those things which are of vital interest to the workers. Hence the need for a working class education from a working class point of view. And when a man has had a period of unemployment, or a difference with his employers, in regard to payment for work done, his mind is fairly susceptible to this pernicious doctrine.

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LONG HOURS FOR BOOK STORE CLERKS

The experiment is being made this summer by certain large departmental stores in Montreal of closing down the whole of Saturday during two months of hot weather, thus making it possible for the assistants, who have a strenuous time during the winter months, to get into the country and taste what the more fortunate enjoy for the entire summer season. As the public will always provide themselves with what they want in the matter of purchases, it is certain that they will soon accommodate themselves to doing their shopping within five days a week. In these stores there are all sorts of commodities, whether groceries, clothing or books and stationery, so that it cannot be argued that it is impossible for certain trades—perishables always expected—to be conducted on this line. Last of all, then, come books, magazines and fancy goods. Yet it appears that in some book stores of Montreal the employees have a particularly strenuous Saturday. Our information shows that a half-holiday has just been inaugurated, but on a basis which entails longer hours the following week. An assistant goes in at 8.30 a.m. on Saturday and has the half day that week, but the following week, he or she, has to be on duty from 8.30 a.m. until 10.30 p.m., meal hours excepted.

In the height of summer such hours, even as an alternative, are unreasonable when the ordinary day's duty stretches from 8.30 a.m. to 6.30 p.m. Books and magazines are not articles that people want suddenly and urgently. Moreover, the clients of this trade are generally speaking, of the "better" class, people who cannot possibly complain that they themselves work long hours and have no other opportunity to buy what they want. As a matter of fact, the people who support this eleventh hour business on Saturday night are the theatre-goers, who after turning out of St. Catherine street shows, rush in to the book stores to get something to read for Sunday, with the result that they create a rush right up to the hour of closing.

People will always enter stores as long as they open their doors. The public, as such, has no conscience; but individual proprietors should have. The employees who are concerned are mostly such as cannot speak for themselves, youths or girls, many of whom are just making a beginning. In this age it is wrong that any girl should be on her feet from 8.30 a.m. to 10.30 p.m. behind a counter. Then the wages which they receive for this arduous method of earning a livelihood are such as to render it impossible for a youth or girl to maintain oneself. Books are costing more, but it does not appear that the employee behind the counter is gaining either in wages or conditions of employment. The real patrons of literature are the

academicians who are now down by the ocean or on the lakes, and if they can get away for long vacation, the book store slaves should also benefit in the hot weather.

Caedmon.

—:—

MR. MURDOCK'S CHARGES

(The Citizen, Ottawa.)

A writer in the Financial Post, Toronto, deals with the rise and fall of the board of commerce in a way which would go to prove that there have been strong influences at Ottawa, or represented at the Capital, to render the path of the board when under the chairmanship of Mr. W. F. O'Connor, as difficult as possible. The writer is prolific of charges against the former chairman, but these are mostly of a petty nature. He alleges that Mr. O'Connor had a thirst for personal power and a love of publicity—faults which, if true, are fortunately seldom found among our statesmen, who prefer, like the recent Borden government, to hide their virtues and accomplishments under a bushel. Mr. O'Connor stalks through the article as the evil genius of the board. Evidently Mr. O'Connor was not persona grata with the interests.

But Judge Robson is an altogether different sort of man, in the eyes of the Financial Post. The judge was a "steadying influence" and when he resigned the board simply ran amuck in established and legitimate business activities more than ever. Judge Robson, it seems, was early convinced that the board was useless for the purpose for which it was designed. He gave up, but unfortunately for him the famous Hugg letter was produced after the serious charges proffered against the cabinet ministers by Mr. James Murdock, whom the writer also caustically deals with, were published. Mr. Murdock, it seems, was merely a labor representative, and a deft touch is given by stating that the headquarters of his union are in the United States. Says the writer:

"Mr. James Murdock, an official of a railway union organization, with headquarters in Cleveland, Ohio, who was the nominee of the labor unions, completed the personnel of the board. but why a labor man, because he is a labor man, should have a post of the kind on a judicial board, passes comprehension, except that we know it was regarded as a good play in politics. What undoubtedly ought to have been done, granted that anything should have been done at all in the way of a board of commerce, was the appointment of two expert business men of undoubted reputation and wide experience and a man of good legal standing as chairman."

Like Winston Churchill, the writer evidently believes that labor representatives have neither ability nor brains outside their own lines of work. As for the accusations against the chairman, and incidentally against the government, did not Premier Borden deny them in the house? What more convincing proof, asks the writer, in effect, is required than this statement of the premier?

Probably the powers on the hill at Ottawa will not be pleased at the defence of the Post. It is to the best interests of the government that the Murdock charges be allowed to die a peaceful death, and in this the opposition in the house of commons seemed to agree. At any rate the most serious charges made against a cabinet in office in the political history of the Dominion were shelved with a facility and ease that would be incredible were not the facts so fresh in the public mind. The premier simply denied them—and the opposition allowed the whole business to drop in

stead of demanding a full investigation of the charges contained in Mr. Murdock's letter and which that gentleman was prepared to back up. No greater instance of political incompetency and leadership on the part of an opposition in the commons is on record. It is approached only by the attitude of the opposition on the indemnity question. Yet these two matters will, and should properly, form the basis of individual judgment regarding the fitness of the present government to remain in office and the fitness of the present opposition to replace it.

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